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Serbia's "Window on the Sea"

complex and interesting problems of the whole proposed European settlement. The Tribune has already set forth the larger aspect of the question, pointing out that the restoration of Serbia, Rumania and Montenegro automatically destroys German Mitteleuropa by interposing a barrier Black to the Adriatic Sea between Bulgaria and Turkey on the south

which the First Balkan War was fought, down as a result of the Conference of nation as a nation would act. in 1912. Prior to this war and in prepara- London in the following year. Sir Ed-Turkish frontiers to Lake Ochrida. Serbia President Wilson. The difficulty with the shoulder to shoulder with our men! under this agreement was to have Uskub, situation which proved insurmountable in Prisrend and all of the Plain of Kossovo. 1915 was that the Czar of Bulgaria had on a line roughly following the Skumbi cess to the sea, with Durazzo as a port, fair settlement of the age-long jealousies have believed it to be.

mandate of the Powers in the matter of creation of the preposterous Albanian the progress made in fitting our forces in sermons preached from their pulpits. Northern Albania, demanded as compensation for her sacrifice all the Macedonian Reliance for her sacrification and the sacrification of the Reliance for her sacrification and the sacrification of the Reliance for her sacrification and the sacrification of the Reliance for her sacrification and the sacrification of the Reliance for her sacri sation for her sacrifice all the Macedonian Balkan League. territories which she had occupied west of the Vardar River, including Monastir, and insisted that if she were not to be For an all-round statement of what describe the state of semi-preparedness permitted to have direct access to the sea every American ought to know and think through which our troops as a whole are she should have a railroad route on her and feel we commend the speech of Sen-still passing. Given the facts as to time own territory to the Greek frontier and over the French front. It bears all the prepared for first-line fighting as the Britspecial commercial rights at Salonica, marks of hard fact as distinguished from ish were when they went into the first line?

north of the Greek frontier and west of not only our bit, but our best. the Rhodopian Mountains, while Greece pushed her frontier across the Struma, experience. Does it discourage the soldier soldier who can be gotten to France in cede to the Bulgar before the Second Bal- of peace, as the imagined war, seen from large part from the French-a wise and

and the very severe penalties imposed have seen is quoted by Senator Kenyon upon Bulgaria, which lost all of Macedonia, large territories between the Dan-battlefields: "Of course we do not like in 1918. We shall do the best we can. The ube and the Black Sea to Rumania, and this. We would like to go home. But we French and British governments know was evicted from Adrianople by the Turk, will fight this thing through, and the what we can do. So does the German govcreated a situation in the Balkans which Kaiser has no more chance of whipping us ernment. But the French and British had dramatic and terrible consequences when the Great War came. Bulgaria Or than "The Evening Post" has of sur- And our own people should know, too, so thenceforth became in fact the tool and in rendering Alsace-Lorraine to Germany. name the ally of Austria and Germany, and presently entered the war at a moment fatal to Allied prospects in the

giving to Serbia Northern Albania and thus fulfilling the agreement longed sacrifice and labor by a distinto the Ealkan situation indicates that he hours in which we live did we not perexpects that when she has had her legiti- war, to the revaluation of men and womabandon her alliance with the Central tion and habit, Powers, which has made her the disturbng element in the Balkans from 1912

garia and Constantine of Greece into sacrificing Serbia and ruining Allied prospects frage was unquestionably coming. Every To understand the question it is neceswhich defeated Turkey in 1912 and broke

If it were possible to conceive of some War; Serbia would have had direct acto join with the other Balkan peoples in a while most of Macedonia would have fallen and rivalries, then President Wilson's prooccupied not only the portion of Mace-ernment or Czar is ready to listen to reawhich had been assigned to Bulgaria. This was merely according to military agreewas was merely according to military agree- mania, all of Macedonia, the eastern half among our own people or give the French, to humanity in history. ment. But when the war was interrupted of Serbia, including the Morava and Var- British and Italian publics a wrong imby the Conference of London, called by the dar rivers; the Drama and Kavala dis-Great Powers to settle the Balkan struggle, tricts of Greece—and her ambition still so to help them.

subservience and was unwilling that the recognize that in demanding that Serbia ready for active service." little state should obtain economic inde-shall have a seacoast he has turned back. What is a "substantial army"? We pendence by having an outlet to the sea. shall have a seacoast he has re- may have in France what might be de-Italy, on the other hand, was unwilling opened a discussion on the only possible as a "substantial" force, meast the Greeks should come north to Va.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: May i be allowed to suggest that the tied inside out. The great Fortress Land which she can have no economic freedom, contribution to Allied strength in France and which also recognizes some portion of which will tell to any material extent in This would mean no economic loss to any Unhappily for the future, Sir Edward the Bulgarian aspirations in Macedonia. the fighting in the first half of 1918? one, nor spiritual either, as people could Grey at London accepted the Austro-Ital- It would be unwise to believe that Mr. Can it be expected to restore the prepon- worship in their homes, either in family ian proposal, and agreed to the creation Wilson's proposal is either a panacea or derance on that front which the French groups, or meetings held in heated parsonof the independent state of Albania, which brings a promise of an immediate soluwas at all times a physical, racial and retion, but on the whole it seems fair to say then only on a parameter of future contains a param was at all times a physical, racial and retion, but on the whole it seems fair to say then only an earnest of future contribution in the whole it seems fair to say then only an earnest of future contribution. ligious impossibility and was bound to be that it brings the whole discussion back tions which may turn the scale; it is If we must close our schools, why not only a catspaw of Austria and a source to the point to which it must return be nothing else.

Asbestos Truths which would thus give her economic inde- hazy hopes and distant dreams. Would Apart from the question of training, they that all of our national legislators and of- are still dependent on the French for ord-

conia and prepared to conquer Macedonia has seen the works of the Boche at close lene. We are getting gas masks from the from Serbia. Thereupon Serbia made an range-has no illusions of an early and easy British. We are relying on French labor alliance both with Greece and with Ru- peace. We must send 3,000,000 men to the behind the lines. Our armies are not organalliance both with Greece and with Rumania, and these three states together we must build 10,000 aeroplanes. ized as a self-sustaining unit, nor can they we must repulse the idea of a patched-up be so organized for some time to come. fought against the Bulgar in the Second peace for just what it is, a German trick. When Mr. Baker says that "arms of the Balkan War and defeated him utterly. We must stop quarrelling. We must drop most modern and effective kind-including

which Venizelos had been willing to con- and turn hopeless and clutch at any straw partment has purchased such arms in the victory and aggrandizement of Serbia quickly? About as good an answer as we preparation on our part. from the lips of a Scot, a lieutenant in the the fact that we cannot give the French

A Decisive Victory

tribute to the women who have fought so son let us avoid covering over our defi-President Wilson in demanding that long and hard for the ballot, is a signpost ciencies-either from ourselves or from Serbia shall be restored and permitted of real national progress. It registers the others. If we do our utmost we shall araccess to the open sea unquestionably has first national advance won by democracy rive on the battle line in time.

It is the fruition of long effort, of proshould be blind to the forces of the crowdel Only When Conditions That Give mate demands for a free outlet recognized en, of their abilities, their courage, their ranging things as to prevent all danger and Serbia will make concessions to Bul- worth as plain individuals, that this vast possibility of future wars. But future wars garia, and that Bulgaria, having her title change is now due. The stress and cannot be prevented by any present affirmastrain of a few extraordinary years have tive means. Wars will cease when the con her attention to self-development and prejudices based on generations of tradi-

The achievement of a two-thirds vote in the House seems a miracle in view of the Sir Edward Grey's diplomacy during all versal of judgment the same reversal of the fatal period in 1915, when he was judgment which carried this state for suftricked and deceived by Ferdinand of Bul- frage last November. To a lesser extent the nation's decision has been made. Suf- war would be impossible. in the Balkans, was steadily based upon political party supported it. At the last

tion for it Bulgaria and Serbia signed a ward Grey's conviction that the Balkan that the Senate will show an equal spirit treaty of partition, by which Bulgaria restates, to exist, must have a common basis of progress and foresight. The nation signed her claims to all of Macedonia north of agreement and a common unity against en as never before. May we enter upon and west of a line drawn from the inter-external pressure was sound in theory and the crucial years ahead with the full section of the old Serbian, Bulgar and has been adopted, one may conjecture, by strength of our women pressing forward

Untimely Optimism

Valley of the Vardar from Kuprili south- mans, while all Bulgarians were deter- scription of the work accomplished by the ward. In addition, Serbia and Greece nemined to regain those territories they be- War Department. It is his own work, gotiated an agreement by which Albania lieved to be Bulgar and had lost in the and its sufficiency has been sharply chalthe Senate Committee on Military Affairs.

ble that Mr. Baker should have made a assassination of Belgium, etc. that Serbia should not be permitted to banian coast of the Adriant.

Therefore there is no immediate prospoint-blank statement like this: "A subshows what desperate straits he is in to de-

cently published some striking articles by its representative with the expeditionary forces, Mr. Heywood Broun, which frankly

Serbia was left in possession of Macedonia partisan politics. We must, each of us, do artillery and machine guns, automatic rifles and small arms -- have been provided That is the sort of hard truth that every by manufacture or purchase for every solsoldier at the front knows by years of hard dier in France and are available for every taking the districts of Drama and Kavala, at the front? Does it make him waver 1918," he must mean that the War Dekneed Americans turn pale and long for stances, but one which does not by any The destruction of the Balkan League, peace, any old peace, provided it comes means argue a high state of military

> than a celluloid cat has of catching an publics ought to know as well, so that they that they will not relax for a moment that high pressure which is needed to keep our The passage of the suffrage amendment speed. We have to overcome the handiby the House, amid stirring scenes of cap of a late start. But for that very rea-

When Wars Will Cease

Rise to Them Cease

a guarantee would be well; but in that event

Wars will cease when the causes of war cease that is; when civilization has procare to fight and will be willing to settle their President was an avowed suffragist. The differences by peaceable means. Until that should continue, for until that time arrives the danger of war helps to keep humanity on ts good behavior and to avoid those things that cause war.

All the agreements and conventions of man needs the courage and wisdom of its wom- cannot prevent future wars so long as great masses of men are disposed to resort to force at a double envelopment; it gave the right

Huntington, N. Y., Jan. 9, 1918.

lenged in testimony recently given before from Germany as if they were oracles, River, from the Adriatic to Lake Ochrida. change in the situation in Bulgaria by Some allowance must be made for an denying that they had ever known them." The Secretary speaks in his own defence. as from a pestilence, and, like St. Peter, Had these two agreements been carried out which the Austro-German influence could eagerness to assure the world that our Mr. Gardner accuses The Tribune of garbaneses to assure the world that our Mr. Gardner accuses The Tribune of garbaneses to assure the world that our Mr. Gardner accuses The Tribune of garbaneses to assure the world that our Mr. Gardner accuses The Tribune of garbaneses to assure the world that our Mr. Gardner accuses The Tribune of garbaneses to assure the world that our Mr. Gardner accuses The Tribune of garbaneses to assure the world that our Mr. Gardner accuses The Tribune of garbaneses to assure the world that our Mr. Gardner accuses The Tribune of garbaneses to assure the world that our Mr. Gardner accuses The Tribune of garbaneses to assure the world that our Mr. Gardner accuses The Tribune of garbaneses to assure the world that our Mr. Gardner accuses The Tribune of garbaneses the garbaneses the tribune of garbaneses the tribune of garbaneses the garbane there would have been no Second Balkan be upset and the Bulgarian people consent military preparation is more advanced his attitude lowerd the war. Let him be

In "The Daily News" of August 1, 1914 In a life and death matter like making three days before the war declaration of

In the course of the war Serbia's troops posal might bear fruit; but there is no It is bad policy just at present for our present indication that the Bulgarian gov-government to say anything which will british interests are attacked we will have no occupied not only the portion of Macedonia assigned to her, but also that
which had been assigned to Bulgaria. This part in this world insanity. We can save Eu-

we can do within the next half year or brought on the war, while Germany was innocent as a lamb. He also tried to keep Eng-

New York, Jan. 9, 1918.

lena and occupy Southern Albania, which will give Serbia that outlet to the But measured on the scale of military of the cut would help to alleviate much Italian policy had marked for the Savoy sea to which she is entitled and without effort on the Western front, does it de- Most of them are well heated and have con-

our churches, many of which are heated and f future discord.

In denying Serbia access to the sea Sir at which it stood when Sir Edward Grey destroyed the Balkan Al.

to the point to which it must return before there can be a settlement—a point and officers have been additionally and specially trained and are ready for active specially trained and are ready for active.

Kept open all the week, not only for worship but for business and social meetings, which and officers have been additionally and specially trained and are ready for active. Edward Grey destroyed the Balkan Alat the Conference of London permitted service" needs qualification. Few Ameria irst to show a spirit of charity and unselfishing the conference of London permitted service needs qualification. liance, because Serbia, yielding to the himself to be duped and consented to the cans who have had opportunities to study more people into the churches than all the

> MINNIE E. RIGGS. New York, Jan. 8, 1918.

Sailing for France Here's a song to you, my dear,

Before I sail away To-morrow shall be yesterday And yesterday to-day.

I never knew that I could pay For all that's in your face, For all that you and I have known In many a fairy place.

For Maytime on a sea-blown dune, For autumn on a hill Where love would fill a golden cup To sip or drain or spill,

Before I sail away To tell you that for yesterday To-morrow I can pay.

But here's a song to you, my dear,

Lieut, JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, Jr. Fort Washington, Md.

THE SERBIAN SEACOAST



Black indicates Serbja's seacoast as delimited by Balkan agreement of 1912. Shaded territories, Bulgaria's share lost in second Balkan War.

The Teuton Campaigns in Italy

confirmed to much of Macedonia, will turn demonstrated facts to the undoing of diffors which give rise to wars cease, and not Similarities of the Strategy to That of Preceding German Campaigns of Envelopment Pointed Out by a Writer in the "Frankfurter Zeitung"

Translated by William L. McPherson

Since it must be admitted that the ideal; merely to march into Moldavia, and through above and which we took note of in generate into a state of imbecility and say- the enemy, and especially the destruction agery. If the human race were perfect, such of the enemy's forces in the field, the batit is a simple acceptance of the fact that no such guarantee would be necessary, for form of complete victory, must serve as a model in the planning of an entire cam-lack of railroad lines and good communica-paign. How then has the strategic idea of tions by road. On the other hand, and this

We saw in France, in the first weeks of the war, an attempt for the first time in on an enormous scale. This attempt aimed wing a task of unexampled boldness-including the penetration of the French-Belgian barrier and almost impossible forced marches, which at last carried the German armies wing took a shorter but, as was demonthe first idea-envelopment and destruction. reasons, not the least of which was the temporary outflanking of Kluck's army. Nevertheless, the strategical gain of these first weeks was of the highest importance.

campaign of envelopment, but only fought was only the commander in chief of a single section of the front, found its solution is caped by a hasty retreat. Later, when Hinsucceeded in bringing about an envelopment just at the mouth of the sack, and a great Russian army might have been trapped cast Vilna, this brilliantly planned operation success because of general strategical conhave preferred, on grounds which we do end of the sack, thereby compelling a crumpleast, so far as prisoners are concerned, at envelopment on one or both sides.

The Serbian Campaign

Next comes the Serbian campaign. An envelopment seemed to be possible only through the cooperation of the Bulgarians, since communication and transport obstacles stood in the way of an advance in strength across the Bosnian-Herzegovian-Serbian-Montenegrin border, and since, also, a splitting up of the then limited number of available divisions had to be avoided. After a successful adtheir peril in time and threw strong forces against the enveloping armies of the Bul. garians. Favored, also, by well defended by beaten Italian armies by attacks out of garians. Favored, also, by well defended mountain positions, they were able to draw the mountains on their flank and in their ians deceive all who listen to them? out of the bag, which also this time was left rear, open, so that at least a part of the Serbian armies succeeded in avoiding envelopment, although they suffered seven benefit and the central High Commands, after they have pile. Yes, they offer the old frontiers, but although they suffered seven benefit at the central High Commands, after they have pile. Yes, they offer the old frontiers, but although they suffered seven benefit as the central High Commands after they have pile. although they suffered severe losses in rear wrecked the entire strategical structure of

against Rumania did not fall short of the ex- advance against pedition into Serbia. Whoever at that time to make the catastrophe as complete as pos- Bulgars really should be allowed to keep.

the Dobrudja into Wallachia, and the Ru- Rumanian campaign manian field army was practically trapped. But whoever looked more closely would have noticed that an invasion of Moldavia through the mountain wall of the Southern Carpa- the large Rumanian armies were about to march into Siebenbuergen. The campaign against Rumania began, similarly to the Polish campaign, not far from the bottom of the sack, after the threat to Sichenbuergen had been abolished by heavy blows. But if one at the very begin-ning had pushed the chief forces in the Dobrudja across the Danube into Rumanian outset of the Rumanian action, because of the Bulgaria was to have Monastir and the Vardar from Kunrili south.

It is natural that Secretary Baker should lean toward optimism in his description, to say nothing of the great of the project could not be fulfilled. Transportation, to say nothing of the great should lean toward optimism in his description. Accordingly, the Russian R manian sack was squeezed out and not closed troops to make forced marches assured us at that time of the destruction of about threeclever use of continually renewed flanking tactics hastened the victory.

The similarity of the strategical conditions of the offensive against Italy with the which we have just been considering in the three preceding campaigns are easy to see. trapping of everything inside it seemed to tral Powers began their attack on Russia for an assault on Trieste. If difficulties of Mr. Gardiner was the dupe of German in the spring of 1915. Through the invathe first condition laid down there by both leads her toward Salonica and the Al- From this point of view it is regretta- with it." He was thus an accomplice of the while the right wing of the central armies. predestined by the geographical situation of if many other considerations had not inter-Therefore there is no immediate prosponder that pect that President Wilson's proposal will both men and officers have been additional form and officers have been additional form. Therefore there is no immediate prosponder that the pect that President Wilson's proposal will both men and officers have been additional form. Therefore there is no immediate prosponder that the pect that President Wilson's proposal will both men and officers have been additional form. Therefore there is no immediate prosponder that the pect that President Wilson's proposal will both men and officers have been additionally and the pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to pect that President Wilson's proposal will be permitted to permitted to permitted the p pathian Mountains. How the allied Teutonic most ideal sack which has ever come to must remember in order to learn to under-

Easiest, Surest, Cheapest

In this case the chief task would have an irresistible frontal offensive (the first fallen to the army of Conrad. The Central that the Greeks should come north to Vabasis by which a settlement can be made
tary strength when war was declared.

out the city would help to alleviate much
locky. The pulk of the Russian forces espegainst expected Italian reserves and an Engdrum fire on a big scale), was upset and emp- allies would have been obliged to use an additional army as a protection of their flank tooty. The bulk of the Russian forces es- against expected Italian reserves and an Engmonarchy when Turkey should disinwhich she can have no economic freedom, serve to be called "substantial"? Is it a
siderable coal stored in their cellars, which
which she can have no economic freedom, serve to be called "substantial"? Is it a
siderable coal stored in their cellars, which lish-French reënforcement, if toward the south, to a flank attack similar shown, however, by the statements appearing to that which occurred in front of Paris in in to-day's papers that Bulgaria will not give September, 1914 (inside the sack there was no danger of this sort, for the armies of Conrad could not be carried through to a decisive and Krobatin were there protected against outflanking movements by Italian troops). siderations. Looking at this Eastern cam- Consequently, considerably more troops were paign as a whole, the Central Powers seemed required. So a quick success, with a decisive penetration on the Tyrdlian front, could not yet understand and cannot judge, the hardly be expected (for the line of frontier safe plan of breaking through at the closed fortresses would have to be disposed of under any conditions, and that could hardly be Serbians cail the Sumadia district, and next ling of the enemy's fronts, to the more risky done overnight), especially if Conrad, on to the heart of Serbia the most truly Serbia the march against Venice, wished to avoid bringing his army into peril from a double- includes the valley of the Morava. This counflanking movement (from Verona and from try rose against the Turks and struggled for he fortified district of Asiago-Primolano). Serbian freedom and in due course attained For all these reasons the Central allies regarded the Isonzo-Tolmina-Flitch position as the casiest, surget and cheapest position on which to undertake a radical breakingthrough operation. And yet it was eminently practicable (which was of especial importance) that the attack should lead directly to the rear of the Italian armies on the Isonzo; that it should close to the armies in the mountain district very quickly one of their vance of the Central Powers into Serbia, But. two lines of communication with the Italian garia entered the war. The Serbians, who drew back lighting toward Albania, realized could be supported at the moment of is could be supported at the moment of is ly beaten Italian armies by attacks out of

> guard battles during the retreat. The Serbian Cadorna by the blow on the Isonzo, might offer you find that it cannot be carried ou army, as a whole, was disposed of. The en- bave thrown all their available forces over oment campaign - Canna on a large scale on the Tyrol front in order, through a was a success, though not a complete suc- second decisive stroke against the lines of retreat of the Italian armies caught In fundamental success the campaign the Venetian sack (in other words, by an gainst Rumania did not fall short of the ex- advance against the line Verona-Venice). Serbian valley which their noor allies the leading into Sarkis. When the line verona-Venice is the line verona-Venice in the line verona-Veni cast a glance at the map must have had a sible. But at this point the very serious very simple idea: The Central Powers needed technical arguments of which we spoke

made exceptionally difficult by a of masses of troops into the Trentino therefore ordered only when, and the other armies became possible; an it happened in this wise that Conrad's attacked in a westerly-easterly direction the fortress line of Asiago and the Sugana Val ley, in order to overcome this obstacle an thus create a unified front with the army

The Fortress Line

From this situation results, also, the ationship of Conrad's centre to the auxil of the Fourth Italian Army withdrawing t the upper Piave Valley. It was conceival that to these troops of Conrad was confid the task of cutting at the right mon ble; for however short was the road which Conrad's centre had to follow, it an exceedingly difficult one. It had distantly related situation of the left even if a comparison between the Moreover, it was self-understood that t Italian High Command had already give ard the east. It was for the Fourth Italia

held fast, at least until the bulk of the army ad broken through the fortified lines the Central allies began, on both sides of the Brents, from Asiago to the Piave bend, an assault with powerful forces southward on the flank of the Italian armies, which had assembled on the west

bank of the Piave. We can offer in this article nothing more than a sketch of the type of the campaign, so far as it is at present understandable and, so far as it is permissible to describe But it seems to us as though each of the four predecessors of the Italian can paign-the advance into France, the march through Poland, the lestruction of the Serbian army and the overrunning of Rumania exhibits strategic moments which one stand the splendid example of the strategy of envelopment, on a vast scale, its toils and traps and their unexampled success, now being staged, to the astonishment of the whole world, on the soil of Italy.

Bulgaria and the Morava Valley To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: We have seen in the papers that the Germans have offered the Allies the boundaries of before the war. Their bad faith is up the easterly half of the Morava Valley, claiming that it is Bulgarian territory an inhabited by Bulgarians. This claim, of course, is perfectly abound. She might as well claim that Paris or London is Bulgarian because there may be a few Bulgarians so-

journing there. Now, the heart of Serbia is what the it, and Bulgarians were never heard of there, were unknown, and this new claim has only een formulated in order that Germany ma have an excuse, should its peace offer now be accepted, for not carrying out the prop restoration of Serbia, which she really never valley for the Berlin-to-Bagdad railway; therefore, she would be able to claim she could not be compelled to drive the Bul parians from that part of their country which

they have conquered from the Serbs it require for us to realize that the Bulgate

for creat Bulgaria will dely Germany and insist on holding the line of the Berlin to-Bagdad railway for Germany against her will

New York, Dec. 29, 1917.